

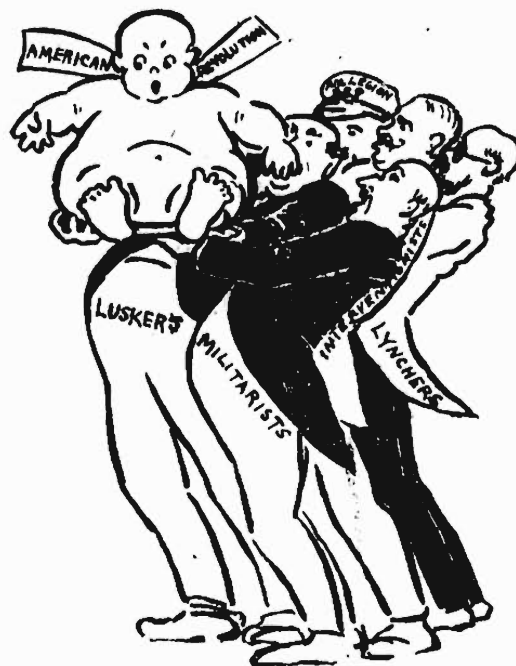
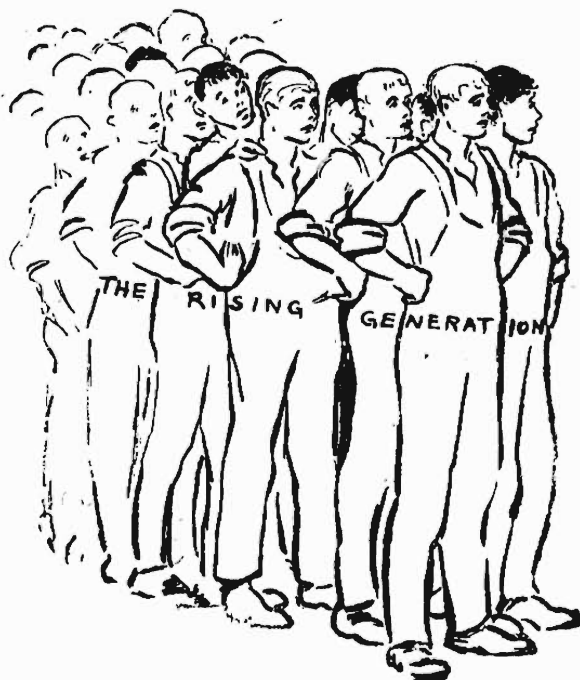
The VOICE OF LABOR

PUBLISHED TWICE MONTHLY

VOL. I. No. 7.

December 15, 1919.

Price 5 Cents.



HANDING OVER THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

SOME BABY!

By LOUISE BRYANT

THE shock of coming to America after half a year of the Russian revolution made me come to the conclusion that all real change in American life would be impossible until long after Europe threw off its old garments and, brilliantly attired in the New Order, made us feel, by contrast, how worn out, unbecoming, and clumsy our own political garments were. That was all because I did not know the forces that were—and are—at work in America. I grieved over the fact that it was possible, by clever manoeuvring, to divert the American mind and the American heart from a great and beautiful thing like the Russian Revolution and to fasten its attention and its emotion on a useless carnage like the Great War. Of course this was all done with false promises about "making the world a decent place to live in." There was a grave danger in that for

the promisers because we are now being treated daily to shining examples of that "decency." And if we don't get enough examples in our immediate vicinities with mobbings and lynchings and beatings all we have to do is to cast our eyes across to Europe and gaze at the noble spectacle of women and children being deliberately starved, illegal annexations of territory, brutal armies of occupation in helpless little lands like Egypt and Ireland and so on infinitum. It knocks the foundations of our smug out from under us. Disillusionment is bitter medicine, but it makes the patient think for himself. Even in America we are doing a little individual thinking these days and therein lies the hope and the promise.

I do not want to underestimate for a single moment the stimulation the American revolution is getting through the untiring efforts of the profes-

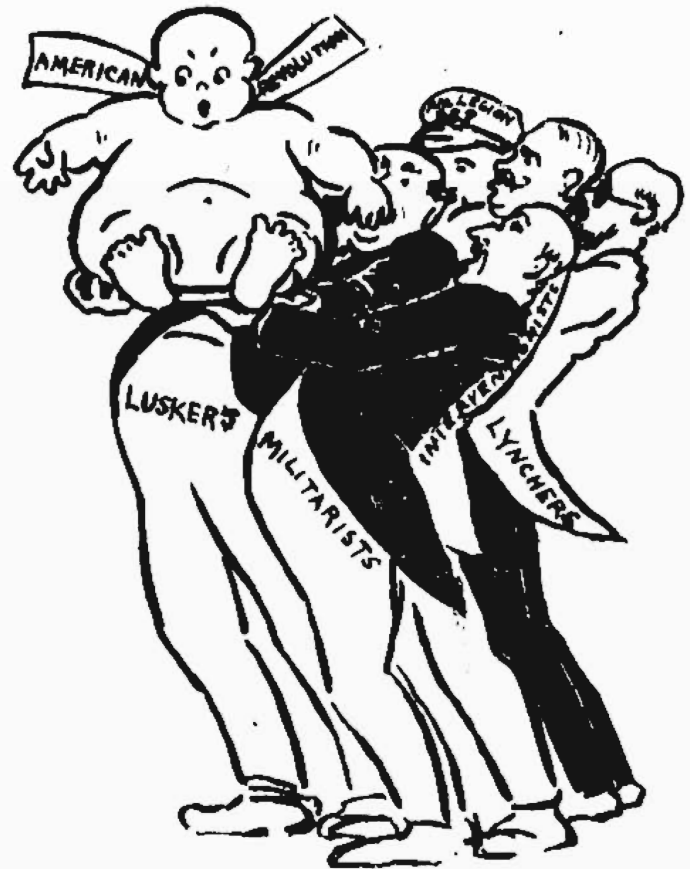
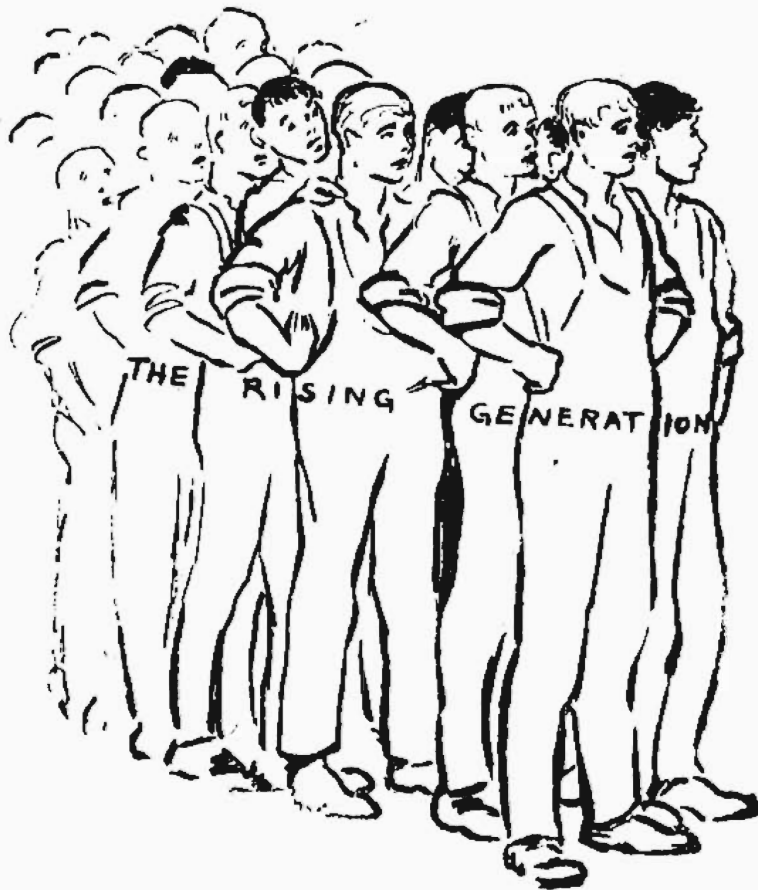
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sional anti-Bolsheviks—because *it is the most important aid the revolution is getting at this time!* Every time the American worker falls asleep he is at once prodded awake by a pitch-fork in the none-too-gentle hands of a Gegan or a Guy Empey or an Archibald Stevenson or an Ole Hanson.

No carefully formulated plan on the part of the radicals could be better calculated to create a real revolutionary movement or cement the loose groups of workers than the policies pursued by our statesmen both local and national. To the general disillusionment following the war, they added and maintained the *high cost of living* which made it impossible for the workers to exist on the salaries they were getting. Therefore, the workers, who had no control over prices, could only strike in order to get enough money to meet the prices.

Now the government met this condition with the challenge of the *injunction* which practically declared striking to be illegal. The government used the judiciary power for the employer and against the worker. It went even further and denied the right of free assemblage. Strike leaders were kidnapped and driven out of town. In big strike centres a gathering of two or three was called a "mob." Meetings were broken up with characteristic American brutality.

On top of all this, everyone with an independent opinion is arrested or soon will be. Labor leaders are indicted and held on high bail: unheard of in any other country in the world. And they are treated as criminals. Reading rooms and assembly halls where workmen gather are broken up and their educational literature and even their school rooms destroyed. Foreigners are treated to examples of the wildest lawlessness on the part of American "patriots" and are then told that if they do not like it they can go back where they came from. If they accept the invitation they are by no means allowed to carry out their desire. Everywhere statesmen bob up and maintain that they ought to be punished *first* and allowed to go home *afterwards*. Accordingly the foreigners are given from two to twenty years.

The jails are filling up. *Jails full of political prisoners are the most faithful indicators of how near a country is to a revolution.* All the Luskys and the Overmans and the anti-Bolsheviks have to do is to fill them until they burst. *No government in the history of the world has ever been able to withstand the menace of jails full of political prisoners.*

For the Chief Executive, he has missed every opportunity at home as well as abroad to keep the confidence of the workers. He has allowed the repudiation of the non-revolutionary Trades Unions, he has forced a break with his most valuable slave, Samuel Gompers, he has overlooked his easy and obvious duty of declaring amnesty for political prisoners. Indicative of the attitude of the Administration was the recent arrest of the editors of the

Seattle ~~Record~~ *Record* because they printed the truth about the Centralia affair. The *Union Record* being owned and controlled by the *Central Labor Council* and the orders for the arrest of the editors coming *directly from Washington!*

One often wonders what the President thinks of, lying all day on the bed of Lincoln, stricken as with a curse. When the snow comes down past his window does he sometimes think of Russia? But the influence of the President is past. It is not as important to us as the influence of those martyred children who died by thousands and are still dying because of his private war against the Soviets.

There is one more element which is eating into our present system like a strong acid. That is the use of our soldiery as strike breakers and Cossacks generally. Such a course will inevitably split the soldiery as it has already done in every country in Europe.

And in summing up, I say this to you Archibald Stevenson, Luskys, and other professional Bolshevik killers: *It is you who are creating the American revolution!* You are responsible for the fact, anyway that it will be born into the world in five years instead of twenty five. And you are bringing it *by violence* instead of by evolution.

Now the American Revolution, when it arrives, will be *some baby!* You will never be able to take care of it and you will have to present it to the bewildered Rising Generation. The Rising Generation may show a little confusion just at first but it will undoubtedly show you that it can take care of the revolution more wisely and scientifically than you could ever imagine.

BEN GITLOW, Business Manager of the Voice of Labor, and Jim Larkin, the well-known Labor Leader and General Secretary of the Irish Transport Workers' Union who is exiled from Ireland on account of his activities on behalf of the workers in that country, were arrested on November 8th and held on charge of "criminal anarchy." At present both are out on \$15,000 bail each, awaiting trial.

In other parts of the country many men and women who have been active in the ranks of labor have also been arrested on similar charges.

Capitalism is attempting to suppress the whole working class movement by persecution. Arrests, deportation, mob-rule, gagging of the workers' press seem to be the order of the day.

In order to fight these outrages, we must rush to the defense of all workers who now face imprisonment.

We need money for their defense. Will you help to make America safe for the working class? Send all you can to National Office, Defense Fund, 209 East 12th St., New York City.

The Canadian One Big Union

British Columbia Federation of Labor

WHEN the Secretary of the Temporary Committee elected by the Western caucus of last years' Congress (1918) sent out the call for a convention to be held early in the year of 1919 at Calgary, to all Trades and Labor Councils, Labor Unions, etc., entitled to sit at any such convention, the Executive Committee of the British Columbia Federation of Labor, in order to prevent unnecessary expense to organize labor's ranks, postponed the annual convention of that body, scheduled for January and to be held at Victoria, and carried the convention to Calgary, (a point outside the province) so that Trades and Labor Councils, Labor Unions, etc., entitled to send delegates to the B. C. Federation of Labor Convention, could also, if they desired, credential the same delegates for the Western Conference.

The B. C. Federation of Labor Convention was held immediately prior to the Western Conference. From the opening of the proceedings it could clearly be observed that no more pious resolutions, built out of high-sounding phrases, but without any real connection with working class life, alone should be discussed and passed. A resolution was placed before the convention, right in the early stages, calling for a complete change in the policy of the Federation, asking that the various resolutions, piled one on the other throughout the preceding years, should be made living principles and not allowed to stand as ornamental but dead letters.

The utter futility of sending executive officers over to legislative houses to have a half hours' tete-a-tete once a year with politicians who are not interested in working class problems was generally agreed upon, and the "policy" resolution, already referred to, asking that this sweet romancing be done away with and an effort made to build up the strength of the workers in their various industrial organizations, was, after being thoroughly discussed, passed with only one dissentient vote.

There were 87 duly credentialed delegates seated in this convention).

It would be a waste of time to deal singly with all the resolutions presented from various points, Prince Rupert, Victoria, Vancouver, Fernie, the mining centers of the metalliferous mining country, and from many different unions in all these centers, asking that the Federation come to life and function on behalf of the affiliated membership or else give up the ghost, and demanding that an industrial form of organization be constructed as soon as circumstances would permit. In this connection it might be interesting to mention the fact that the Vancouver Metal Trades Council forwarded a letter to the convention, stating that, by resolution, the Secretary of that body was instructed to inform the convention that the Vancouver Metal Trades

Council desired immediately an industrial form of organization. That the officers of this latter organization have since proved their utter ineptitude and revealed their traitorous character by their actions does not detract from the position originally taken.

The Committee on Resolutions, being faced with the question of reporting on a vast number of resolutions all asking for industrial organization, yet each stressing some particular aspect, was compelled to bring a substitute motion covering all the salient points dealt with by these resolutions. The substitute motion was as follows:

Resolved, that this convention recommend to its affiliated membership that they sever affiliation with their international organization, and that steps be taken to form an industrial organization of all workers, and,

Be it further resolved, that a circular outlining a proposed plan of organization be sent out to the various organizations and that a referendum on the question be taken at the same time.

This resolution was thrashed back and forth across the floor of the convention, and finally carried by a large majority. It was further decided to introduce this question as a resolution from the B. C. Federation of Labor on the floor of the Western Conference, about to convene, and see what the delegates of the labor organizations of the other Western provinces thought about it. It was also decided to go ahead with the new policy in British Columbia, at least as far as a well conducted propaganda campaign was concerned, and with the actual movement itself, if circumstances warrant it, irrespective of the attitude of the other Western Provinces.

The new policy was very warmly debated upon the B. C. Federation of Labor's Convention floor, and a little opposition was staged by certain reactionaries who would have surprised everybody had they acted otherwise. International organizers also appeared with their customary tactical manoeuvres, but all this was brushed aside by the overwhelming nature of the vote of the representatives of the various affiliated bodies.

The advocates of the new policy were openly sneered at by certain reactionaries and the question was asked in the closing moments of the convention. "Are you going to the Western Conference with this policy and attempt to ram it down the throats of the delegates there?"

How totally out of place this query was, will be shown in the next article dealing with the Western Conference, and its attitude on the question of "severing connections with International Unions and building up an Industrial Organization of all workers."

The Soldier Problem

By ADRIAN ROBERTS

THE signing of the armistice last fall was the signal for predictions both optimistic and discouraging by people of all beliefs as to the reacting effects of the war upon the nation during its period of attempted readjustment. It was widely heralded from the camps of militant and progressive labor that the returning soldiers and sailors would bring back with them new vitality that would quicken the pulse of labor and would hasten the day of industrial emancipation.

The men who had gone had made great sacrifices, giving up jobs that carried war wages with them. Their minds were full of pictures painted by the jingoes and they really thought that they were in for a picnic. They were soon to be disillusioned however by the oppressive discipline and later on, by the harsh brutalities and inhuman experiences that they were brought face to face with. Fed on by phrases such as "making the world safe for democracy" and by the various devices for maintaining the spirit, the morale remained inflexible during the war. Naturally it was expected that when once more civilians, the men, coming back to pre-war conditions such as unemployment, cheap labor, etc., would rebel at the glaring injustices and outrageous abuses that they would be subjected to.

After War Organizations

True when demobilization began several liberal soldiers and sailors groups sprang up, but all to no avail as the men had no problem that was peculiar to soldiers and sailors alone. Again the friendship these liberal organizations professed for organized labor could not be utilized as organized labor's one and only weapon in its eternal struggle for better living conditions, is the strike. Having no economic or political role to play the groups naturally dwindled down until to-day they exist only in name. Let us now see what occurred with the patriotic "Scissor Bill" upon his discharge.

In common with the liberal minded chap he swore that he would never again be seen in a uniform, but the American Legion with the jingoistic cries of "Americanism", "Down with Bolshevism" with the widely implied suggestion of pay bonuses was the magnet that appealed to the prejudiced and warped minds of the mass of these men, and we view with discouraging disgust and apprehension the acts that are daily being perpetrated by members of the working class who as yet have not realized their class interests. It took long months of agony and untold misery to impress them with some harsh truths but they seem to quickly have relapsed into that tragic lethargy prepared for them by the monsters of reaction here.

Generosity of the War Department

During demobilization Uncle Sam had been very lavish in advertisements and in general advice to employers of labor to hire ex-service men and give the said men a square deal.

Meanwhile the War Department had occasion for hiring ex-service men in its Motor Transport Corps, the work day stipulated to be eight hours. One sunny morning an announcement which was signed by the commander was read to these civilian employees to the effect that beginning the next day the men would have to work ten hours with no compensating advance in pay. The men indignantly arose and walked out on strike. The War Department immediately substituted men who are still in the service working for thirty dollars per month and of course the strike came to nothing. That is incidentally one example of Uncle Sam the employer and we can safely say that the men who suffered and thousands of their sympathizers have become far more rebellious in spirit than all the liberal organizations could have made them by trying to educate them by the methods pursued in the first months after the war.

Recently the Quartermaster Corps opened a Retail Store in New York for the sale of all unused supplies on hand. Ex-service men were employed at the wages of \$20-\$22 per week. What mattered it to the government that many of these men were married and that some even had children to support? Nevertheless they were asked and expected to be honest at \$20 per week. It was not long before men were being picked out by detectives in such large numbers that the commander decided to replace the ex-service men with girls who were secured at \$15 per week. The men grew hot with anger as more and more were losing their jobs. Things came to a head when they were publicly called a bunch of crooks by the Captain in charge. Pent up anger of months' standing broke from restraint and after hurling challenges at the commander a spontaneous strike was called. The demands being paltry and an organization lacking, the strike lasted a short while, but the men are smarting with resentment at the shabby manner of treatment accorded them. They have learnt a lesson and they are now in a receptive mood for radical agitation.

The American Legion of which many are members may try its utmost to further its reactionary ends but conditions themselves are daily disillusioning the men and causing them to think for themselves, that is, to think in terms of their class interest and forget that they must segregate themselves from the rest of their fellow workers.

The British Railroad Strike

By GEORGE WALLACE

"THE British railroad strike so far as the Clyde district was concerned showed something more than a fight for shorter hours and higher wages," said a young Scotch seaman who recently arrived from Glasgow. "but in order to explain the real significance in this particular skirmish it is necessary to go back a few years and study the progress made by the working class in that particular area."

"The Clyde workers have always held an advanced position in the struggles between capital and labor in the British Isles. The rest of the British workers have seldom responded to the appeals for support, or when support has been promised it has only been given in a half hearted manner, otherwise the situation in the recent railroad strike may have been better. The influence that is responsible for the advanced position adopted by the workers in this part of the country is due to a small group of men and women who made a long and continuous fight in the factories and on the street corners in and around Glasgow for a more revolutionary form of economic organization advocating along with this, the use of the ballot-box as a means to bring about real class conscious action—Revolutionary parliamentary action is of little use unless supported by a strong industrial organization.

In the early days of the war, the British Government started a campaign to increase the production of munitions. Many of the skilled workers were enlisting, and the old methods of production could not keep pace with the demands for more guns, more shells, more ships and other implements of slaughter.

War Conditions

The Clyde district was the centre of the munitions and shipbuilding plants and therefore it was essential, if the war was to be carried to a successful conclusion, to change the working system that already existed and introduce a higher degree of efficiency. This was done by the dilution of labor, that is—a system similar to that already established in the Ford plants of this country, where skilled labor is practically abolished and where almost anyone can be put to work without any previous experience.

The skilled man, who up to that time had been considered indispensable, was now thrown out of work and driven into the army while women and youngsters under military age were put to work instead. The skilled men who were left, and who had been the backbone of the labor union movement, suddenly saw his organized power being stolen away as, besides this scheme, the Government had little by little been taking away the privileges and rights

that organized labor had won for itself in the past, by making secret agreements with recognized labor leaders. Furthermore, the women who were filling the jobs were not eligible to join the craft unions, as in a number of these organizations certain qualifications were needed, such as a five years apprenticeship, but even if these qualifications were abolished, the majority of the "munitionettes" had no inclination to join as they only considered themselves just temporary employees for the duration of the war. Thus it was that the workers awoke one morning to find that the right to strike had been forbidden by act of parliament.

It was during this period that the Clyde workers began to use the machinery of the propaganda committees established in the works and yards by that small group of the Socialist Labor Party and I. W. G. B. members, and in a very short time a strong economic organization began to make itself felt and feared by the masters of industry.

Lloyd George Visits Glasgow

In order to pacify the workers throughout the country, members of the British Cabinet would visit the large industrial centres and chloroform the minds of the people with vague promises and reassurances. Lloyd George would frequently make these speeches, using beautiful phrases, he would appeal to the workers to sacrifice their rights as union men for the duration of the war for the sake of King, country and every other patriotic motive. Usually these beautiful orations had the desired effect, but the workers on the Clyde presented a difficult problem. Arthur Henderson, the Judas Iscariot of labor, could find no audience in Glasgow that would listen to his platitudes. They were all too busy "making munitions" to attend the widely advertised lectures, so, on the advice of Henderson, Lloyd George decided to visit that city and address the Shop Stewards on Christmas Day, 1915. The preliminary arrangements were arranged after a lot of trouble. In the first place, the "stewards" refused to attend the meeting, and it was only after they had been promised a full day's pay that they consented. The largest hall in the city was crowded to capacity with men in greasy overalls who had come direct from the workshops to listen to the "little Welsh hypocrite." Henderson who was to introduce the speaker was greeted with hisses and not allowed to speak and when finally Lloyd George took the platform, he was greeted with so much "heckling" that at the end of about five minutes he was compelled to sit down. The meeting ended with the singing of "The Red Flag" and Lloyd George is still waiting to deliver his message of peace in Glasgow.

The Strength of Shop Committees

A few days later, the Glasgow Forward, a socialist newspaper, appeared with a stenographic report of the meeting, every capitalist paper had carefully refrained from mentioning any of the incidents, and immediately the Forward was suppressed. At the same time, a number of the "ringleaders" were jailed and deported from the Clyde area. Among them were John McLean, David Kirkwood and Tom Clark but this only resulted in a further strengthening of the Shop Steward movement. In fact, it was from this date that the Shop Committees began to function as an economic force.

The Government soon realized that these tactics of persecution were of no use. Immediately one "leader" was put away, another was ready for the position until finally a strike was called, the demands being for the return of the deportees. The workers were the masters of the situation. From France came the cry for more munitions and as it was impossible for the employers to break the strike either by employing scabs, or intimidation of leaders, the deported men were allowed to return. Even then, the workers were not satisfied, for the employers instituted a boycott against these "agitators." David Kirkwood, for example, was refused a job wherever he applied, so the Clyde workers committee sent him to London to interview Lloyd George. The interview was granted, but Kirkwood was told that the individual employer had the right to hire who he wanted. Kirkwood replied, "You'll instruct them to give me a job, or else there will be trouble," and on his return to Glasgow he found a table full of telegrams offering him a job in every plant within a radius of twenty miles.

Control of Industry

Several interesting features developed out of this new form of organization. On one occasion the workers in a particular factory struck because the employer had notified them of a reduction in wages. Naturally, the strikers were denounced by the super-patriots as traitors and pro-German, so to show their patriotism, these strikers applied for, and got permission to run the factory until the employer changed his mind. Permission was only granted to prove to the workers that labor could not exist without the aid of the master-mind who supplied the capital, but contrary to expectations the plant ran for two weeks without a hitch and *production was greatly increased*. By that time the employer arrived at the age of reason and met every demand.

Free Speech Protected

A side line that grew out of the Shop Stewards movement was the "stewards battalion." This was organized for the purpose of protecting the rights of free speech.

During the war, when patriotic hysteria was at its height, any individuals whom the capitalist press denounced as pro-German had little chance to voice

his opinions, as the Loyalty Leaguers, composed of men "too old to fight" and colonial soldiers, were usually in attendance to break the meetings, but in Glasgow free speech was kept intact by this army of civilians. J. Ramsey McDonald, who perhaps met with more opposition in England than any other pacifist held a meeting without an interruption under the protection of 2000 of these workers, every one of whom were actually opposed to McDonald's theories.

The General Strike

Some of the pledges made during the war by the Government when the workers were asked to forego their rights, were the abolition of small wages, unemployment, and speeding up after the armistice was signed, but immediately that historical document had been signed, a cry went up from the mouths of the capitalists for "increased production." The officials of the old trade union movement linked themselves with the bosses and attached their signatures to an appeal issued by the masters' association. The workers offset this with a demand for a 40 hour week in order to provide work for the returning soldiers and the women who were being discharged at the rate of several thousands a week. The 40 hour agitation culminated in a general strike and — bloody Friday. This was the first general strike since the cessation of hostilities and developed after every other means had been tried. The employers showed no inclination to negotiate in any way with the workers and the Government supported them in this attitude. Finally, at a conference of stewards an invitation to participate in this strike was sent to the English trade unions, and on receiving promises for support, the whole of the industries in the Clyde area were called out.

Mass picketing was resorted to and it was a common sight to see four or five thousand men in one picket line. It was a brave man that could run the gauntlet of taunts and jeers which was hurled at every scab. At the Singer works, the electrical workers decided to go back to work one day. For an hour they worked hard, and on retiring the plant had to close for lack of power. A daily strike bulletin was printed the circulation of which reached 20,000 copies. This was made possible by the use of the Socialist Labor Party press which was turned over to the strike committee. The solidarity of the workers in the Clyde district has been of immense value to organized labor throughout the British Isles and it was reflected in the British railroad strike. It was the first attempt to make the Government live up to its war-time promises and although the strike ended with a compromise, a 44 hour week was granted, it was really a victory for industrial unionism.

The Railroad Strike

The immediate gains of the railroad men on strike is of little concern. They actually did accomplish a material gain in their position, but two features come into prominence which to anyone

interested in the progress of labor have a far greater significance than just the immediate results, but first to deal with the events leading up to the strike.

During the war, the Government had taken over the railroads and of course, kept control after hostilities had ceased on foreign soil. Naturally, one of the first cries after the armistice was for "Retrenchment," the Government having incurred such enormous war debts they were in a financial hole, and as usual the poor Henry Dubb was the man who had to suffer. The railroad porter, the bottom dog, was the fellow to start on, so his wages were reduced. This was done because of the impression that the aristocrats of labor, the skilled worker, would allow this to go by without objection, but the workers have learnt some bitter lessons in the past five years and naturally they resented this "diplomatic" move. Instead, they suddenly decided that labor must take the aggressive attitude,—that is— they would have to fulfill Lloyd George's promises for themselves, and demands were formulated by the rank and file which, of course, were immediately turned down by the Government.

The labor union officials, led by J. H. Thomas, opposed the wishes of the membership to the very last minute, but the rank and file, without taking a ballot, forced the hand of the Executives and the strike was declared.

"All the King's Horses"

The tie-up was so complete that King George, who at the time was in Scotland, was compelled to

travel by auto to London. This in itself demonstrates the spirit of the men. All the patriotic pleadings, all the divine rights of kings couldn't find a train crew to pull 'His Royal Highness' a distance of about 450 miles. Scabs were called for, but the only response came from the aristocracy. A few Knights, Earls and Lords would run a train a few miles out of the depot and return again for the benefit of the moving picture companies.

At this point the Government decided to throw down the gauntlet. The country was on the eve of revolution, said the Government spokesmen, and Lloyd George, in a speech, said, "The whole social fabric is on the verge of collapse." A secret army order was issued asking commanders of various regiments to supply all data concerning the men under their command. The potentialities were such that it formed a "revolutionary situation." While the strike was in progress the whole commerce of the country was paralyzed. The strike was peaceful, no violence being offered on either side. The capitalists could not call upon the armed forces because they were not sure where the sympathies of the soldiers lay, and the workers merely by folding their arms had all the power that they needed.

Both the workers and the employers realized that this was a class fight, this was a struggle to decide which was the real master, capital or labor, and although the workers accepted a compromise, it has served as a lesson, it has shown them clearly the imperfections of their organizations and they have gone back not beaten, but merely to strengthen their forces for the next conflict.



The Best Strike of All



The Best Strike of All

THE VOICE OF LABOR

For Labor's Organization of Industries
in One Big Union

Published Twice a Month by the
COMMUNIST LABOR PARTY OF AMERICA

Editor John Reed
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Address all communications to:
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208 E. 12th St., New York City.

How to Help

THIS paper is distributed by volunteer Committees organized in the shops by the workers themselves. Do you like it? Do you think it worth while helping?

If you do, this is how you can help:

Organize a Committee in your shop—or among your fellow-workers — fellows you know are "all right"—even if there are only one or two of you. Get together and talk it over. Have a smoker, a lecture of some kind or an entertainment by which you can raise a little money. If you want speakers, write to us.

With this money order a few hundred copies of **THE VOICE OF LABOR**, and distribute them to the workers On The Job. If you can sell them, so much the better,—if not, give them away.

Increase your Committee by adding to it other workers who are interested. Start new Committees in other shops.

Use these Committees to spread the ideas of Industrial Unionism and Communism.

This is **YOUR** paper. Write us articles. Criticize the paper. Ask for anything you want to know about, and we'll try to tell you. Get subscribers. Get people interested. It is up to you.

If the paper succeeds, we'll make it larger, publish pictures, and keep you thoroughly informed of what is **REALLY** going on in the Labor Movement, both here and abroad.

What's Going On

WIRELESS FROM MOSCOW via Copenhagen, London, Paris, Washington. John Reed, America. Dear Jack: Associated Press reports you are in Moscow but up to the present moment we haven't seen anything of you. If you are here, where are you? Lenin says to tell you that you are a monstrous clever fellow to be everywhere and nowhere at the same time. He and Trotsky also have the ability to be in Spain, Switzerland, Germany, Holland and Mexico at the very same moment. No one but a real Bolshevik is capable of such a feat. You must be one of the elite. We didn't know they had them in America.

ALTHOUGH THE STEEL STRIKE has been broken three times in the past two weeks, according to the daily press, we still receive almost daily, bulletins showing the solidarity of the strikers. From Pennsylvania, Illinois, Ohio, Alabama and Indiana we learn that the men are still 100 per cent strong and likely to remain so until their demands are granted.

For the benefit of the Steel Trust, we suggest that when the time comes to explain away the lack of production in December, they can blame it on the coal strike. What's the use of having a coal strike if you don't make use of it?

SPEAKING OF STRIKES: We notice that only the foreign workers do such things. Accepting this statement as accurate, we have come to the conclusion that there's only one million Americans in the country—and they are all in the American Legion.

A simple solution to this problem would be to deport all these foreigners and let the American Legion members do all the work.

WHAT IS "ANARCHY"? The latest interpretation comes to us from Lowell, Mass. where two brothers, Kronstanti and Felix Dobrowski, were arrested and charged with promoting anarchy. These brothers displayed in a window of their restaurant, the picture of the late Mrs. Sellins which appeared on the Oct. 15th issue of **The Voice of Labor**. The picture shows the badly mutilated head of this union organizer who was murdered by hired thugs and underneath is was printed "A Steel Trust Victim."

For this, one of the brothers has been found guilty and the other who was also indicted has had his case placed on file. The Judge, a man by the name of O'Connell, seems to be a worthy subject to sit on a capitalist bench and no doubt he has received many platitudes from his bosses for coming to such a wise decision.

IT IS ONLY ON RARE OCCASIONS that we care to reprint anything from the capitalist press, but when we catch them admitting the truth we cannot let such an opportunity pass without giving them credit for it. The following clipping was taken from the New York Tribune. Naturally, we found it in the "funny column." We always did contend that the only items worth taking seriously were those which appeared on the humorous page, and now we know that we were correct in our surmise.

"STRUGGLING RUSSIA"
LENINE ORDERS TROTZKY JAILED;
IN JAIL HIMSELF
 (The World, October 8th)

LENINE AGREES TO CONCESSIONS
 (The World, October 21st)

TROTZKY MOBILIZES
ALL PETROGRAD MEN
 (The Times, October 25th)

Facts are such elusive, sneaky
 Things at which to try a guess;
 Any "no" may prove a "yes."
 By the way, the Bolsheviks
 Slew—well, read the daily press:

CHALIAPINE, PLAGUE STRICKEN,
REPORTED SLAIN BY REDS
 (The World, October 28th)

CHALIAPINE NOT KILLED BY REDS
 (The Times, November 5th)

"News like bacon, should be streaky:
 Pro and Contra, more or less
 Mixed, that all may acquiesce."
 Thus, as to the Bolsheviks,
 Muse the giants of our press.

PETROGRAD'S FALL IS NEAR,
BUT REDS STAY IN CRONSTADT
 (The World, October 22nd)

BOLSHEVIK GRIP ON PETROGRAD
GROWS TIGHTER
 (The Tribune, October 28th)

Rumor, in her chariot creaky,
 Dashes up to Truth's address,
 Serving her a dispossession.
 Shamefully those Bolsheviks
 Treat our grave, impartial press!

YUDENITCH DRIVES NEAR PETROGRAD
 (The World, October 30th)

REPORT YUDENITCH
ARMY SURROUNDED
 (The Times, November 5th)

WE ARE ON THE VERGE OF WAR with Mexico. We are opposed to it, as we are opposed to all capitalist wars, but one ray of sunshine comes through the dark clouds that hang over the border. We ask you: Won't it be fine for the American Legion?

GEORGE H. HUDSON, special agent for the Department of Justice in Fresno County, Cal. is again exhibiting "souvenirs" discovered by him in various I. W. W. headquarters. This time he is giving evidence against James McHugo in Oakland, Cal., who is charged with "criminal syndicalism." In the course of his cross-examination, George stated "that he rented a room next the headquarters in Fresno the day the I. W. W. rented the latter, and almost immediately installed a dictaphone, without their knowledge."

Our "cub reporter" says that as "Fellow Workers Hudson and Sid Shannon, Deputy Marshall, organized this particular branch and had an agent provocateur as secretary, it was comparatively easy for George to install his dictaphone and at the same time make numerous "discoveries." On one occasion our "cub" discovered a gun in his overcoat pocket, but as he never owned a gun in his life, has a decided aversion to them, in fact, he got rid of it in quick time. On another occasion he discovered the secretary telling George that "We can't do it that way" down a back alley.

George was evidently out of luck at that time, but, why doesn't he read the evidence secured thru the dictaphone? It would be interesting reading—if he gave it correctly.

PUSSYFOOT JOHNSON lost an eye in the "ragging" given him recently in London. We know a few "foreign agitators" who have lost their lives recently, but the papers don't mention them.

Anyway, Pussyfoot, if you don't like your Uncle John, go back to your own country!

WHAT IS ON HAND, a few thousand copies of the November 1st issue of the Voice of Labor. We circulated over 40,000 of this number, but due to the raids in this city, we were unable to send out the balance. Mail us your order immediately. 5c a copy, 3 1/2c a copy bundle orders from 10 to 100, over 100, 3c a copy.

Schools In Soviet Russia

"IT is necessary to combine school work with production, it will then have great educational significance. Only a close contact between education and socially productive labour can abolish the class character of the modern school."

This principle proclaimed by Karl Marx became the basis of all reforms introduced by the Soviet Government in the sphere of education.

After the October Revolution school reform, first of all, assumed the character of a struggle of the masses for knowledge, for education and the Commissariat for Education with the greatest speed possible had to destroy the old school based upon class privileges.

Schools Under Capitalism

In the pre-revolutionary period the school was greatly neglected. The "elementary," "common" school was pushed to the background. The attitude towards it was not even indifference, but sheer ill will. It was attempted to convert it into a medium through which the people's mind could be poisoned and blind allegiance developed. The high school was not simply a school of higher standards, but a school where loyal overseers of the enslaved people were trained. This old school was destroyed after the October revolution and in its place was created a new school. The new school of Soviet Russia is closely connected with the masses, it is near to its life and labour. The new school is free in all its trades, and it is not only accessible but obligatory for all. There will not be such an almost incredible percentage of illiterate people among the next generation as there was hitherto.

Further, the modern Russian school is a uniform and labour school. The former indicates that the whole system of normal schools, from the kindergarten up to the university represents a unit, a continuous set of ascending steps. All children join the same type of school and begin their education on equal terms. They all have equal rights to pass from standard to standard until they reach the highest. Moreover, the Russian school is "uniform", because apart from giving purely scientific knowledge it brings the child up to and develops in it the habit to work. A child who has finished the uniform school is quite prepared to take an active part in social life.

The uniform school does not strive at a uniformity of type. The state requires specialists and youths who usually have different inclinations and are endowed with different gifts, therefore in the school attended by children at the age of about 14 all subjects are divided into several courses or groups, many fundamental subjects, however, remain the integral part of all courses. These groups are not interlocked until the pupils join a special high school.

The new school is a labour school. This is particularly indicated by its present organization, as Soviet Russia requires people who were brought up in the atmosphere of labour.

In Russia the demand to introduce labour as an integral part of education is based upon two quite opposite principles the result of which, however, is the same. The first principle is the proposition that real absorption of knowledge can only be achieved by active absorption. A child acquires knowledge very easily if it is introduced to him in the form of game or work (if the latter is skilfully arranged.) From that point of view this principle leads to an active mobile acquaintance with the external world. The next source stimulating the striving of the modern Russian school toward labour is the immediate desire to acquaint the pupils with what they will most need in life,—particularly with agricultural and industrial labour in all its forms.

The uniform labour school based upon these principles is divided into two grades according to the age of the pupils; the first grade is attended by pupils between the ages of 8 to 13, the second from 13 to 17. (The next step is special high schools or universities).

The First Grades

In the first grade school tuition is based upon work which has more or less an artisan character conformably to the strength of the children. In the second grade school industrial and agricultural labour in all its modern form is undertaken and machinery becomes of paramount importance. But on the whole the aim of the labour school is not to prepare skilled workers for this or that branch of industry (that must be the aim of trade schools), its aim is to give the children a comprehensive education which will give them a practical knowledge of the methods of the most important forms of production.

Thus, in Soviet Russia, the child on one hand, studies different subjects, making collections, drawing lessons in photography, modelling, pasting, observing, and cultivating plants and animals. Languages, mathematics, history, geography, physics, chemistry, botany, and zoology are now taught in the new school according to a new active method. On the other hand the school acquaints the pupils with the principal methods of labour in the sphere of cabinet-making and carpentry, wood-engraving, moulding, forging, casting, alloying, welding of metals, hardening of metals, boring work, working on leather, printing, with various branches of agricultural work (in the village), etc.

From the kindergarten the children pass direct into the first grade school. In the kindergarten the aim of the studies is to acquaint the child with

nature and society. The teacher without applying the least constraint towards the child systematizes and directs its inquisitiveness and desire for movement so as to attain the best possible results. The idea is to go through a sort of children's "encyclopedia."

In the higher standards of the first grade uniform labour school systematic work in a certain cycle of subjects becomes of paramount importance. The same "encyclopedia" which now acquires the character of a study of human culture in connection with nature, is preserved here as well. The study of this subject is divided into two cycles (for children from 8 to 13). In the first period the children's attention is directed to a series of selected materials. The pupils are given a certain article of production or cultivation to study. This article is thoroughly examined from two points of view: as the product yielded by nature and as a result of production, and at the same time its physical and chemical nature and origin are also examined, etc. In connection with it reference is made to the history of labour (the means of production in the past) and the process of work necessary for the production of that article in modern industry. In the study of encyclopedia the greatest importance is attached to experiment. The object of study is selected with the view to conducting the study of it, actual observations and independent performance of acts mentioned while the object was examined.

The second cycle includes almost the same subjects as the previous, but the latter are studied more in detail and in choronological order. In vivid sketches and always with the aid of their own work the children become acquainted with the history of labour and together with it the history of human society. The evolution of culture in connection with the change of labour conditions is studied by the children not only from books or the teacher's narrations, but partly by their own experiments.

The same subject of "encyclopedia" transformed into a course of sociology (or the basis of evolution of labour and change in economic forms as the result of it) becomes the subject of the "encyclopedia" of the second grade school. In the second grade school the study of sociology goes on parallel with the study of other subjects.

At the same time the pupils of both schools are encouraged to make personal researches, to write essays, to do modelling, collecting, etc. in their leisure time.

Education Becomes a Fine Art

The higher the standard the pupil passes into, the more serious and profound becomes the study of his native language, history, biology, physics, chemistry, etc. which subjects are taught by specialists. The study of these subjects is also based upon the labour method. Great care is taken that the labour upon which tuition is based should be productive and real, and the pupils should actually participate in the economic life of the country.

Subjects of aesthetic value, such as modelling, singing and music are of no less importance in the uniform labour school. Particular attention is paid to drawing and modelling. At the beginning drawing is taught according to a method giving wide scope to the child's creative powers: imaginative drawing, memory drawing and so on. Later on the pupils begin to draw didactically selected articles from nature and at last drawing branches into drawing and painting. Theory is taught only in the final stage.

Obligatory music courses are introduced into the school. Aesthetic education in general is introduced on such a wide scale that one can expect that complete development of all senses and of the creative powers of the young Russian generation.

The labour principle in school assists the physical development of the children. For the same reason rhythmical gymnastics, individual development of muscles under the supervision of a doctor, and games have been introduced into the school.

The academic year in the uniform labour school is divided into the winter, middle, and summer terms: during the latter term work is conducted in the open air.

Only a part of the school day (4 hours in the first grade school, and 5-6 in the second) is devoted to studies according to the programme. The rest is partly at the disposal of the pupils who remaining in school are allowed to take advantage of all school resources, and partly is devoted to recreation. The school time-table is so arranged as to avoid monotony.

Individual Tuition

The extremely important principle of the regenerated school is individual tuition. It is an analysis on the part of the teachers of the inclinations and particular traits of characters of every pupil so as more completely to satisfy the requirements of each pupil. This is done so as not to hinder the development of particularly gifted pupils.

On the other hand, the important aim of a democratic school is to pay great attention to backward pupils. At every school special classes for all backward pupils with a special course of studies must be introduced.

Finally, the difference between the uniform labour school and the pre-reform school is that the former is a secular school (for the first time the Soviet Government has liberated the school from the influence of the church) and a mixed school for both sexes.

The relationship between the pupils and the teachers is one of comradeship. The teacher is not an official, but an elder comrade of the pupil. Obligatory work is introduced into the school and the pupils together with the teachers perform different functions on the premises, in the kitchen where breakfasts and dinners are being prepared and so on.

Centralia

By A. F. KAY

NOVEMBER 11TH, 1919.

*"Centralia is quiet to-day,"
I read in the Daily Lie;
"What 'wobblies' aren't lynched, are in jail
And their literature smokes to the sky."
"I'll war on the wobblies to death,"
Does the District Attorney say,
As he fools himself and the world
With, "Centralia is quiet to-day."*

*For the world is aflame with revolt;
And the pillars of robbery fall
As a long disused chord in the heart
Of the slave, responds to the call
Of the spirit that fights for the time
When we slave for no master for pay.
But the Press Dope as usual lies—
Centralia's NOT quiet to-day.*

—F. W. T.

After a lapse of three weeks, truth of the Centralia affair has reached us. Every day we scanned the capitalist press in the hope that by some strange chance we should find something that would throw more light on the subject, but none was forthcoming. Instead, we read reports of a vague uprising of the I. W. W. in the North West and the repressive measures which the authorities and the various "patriotic" organizations were adopting to combat this nebulous revolution. Later, through different channels, we discovered that every paper which published the truth of the shooting affray was suppressed, every person who sought to circulate the details was either arrested or intimidated in other ways. The correspondent of the Associated Press in Centralia was surrounded by a howling mob of business men and threatened with death when he started to send out the story as it really happened, and in order to save himself he was compelled to leave the town in the dead of night.

The Lying Press

We suppose most of our readers are acquainted with the story as printed in the capitalist press. On November 11, the "respectable" people of Centralia held a parade to celebrate the anniversary of Armistice Day. This parade was headed by the American Legion, and, according to the "Morning Liar" while marching peacefully through the Main Street, these innocent paraders were fired on by a bunch of desperadoes, all members of the I. W. W. Naturally a riot ensued and one man, believed to be the secretary of the I. W. W. branch, was lynched."

The next day we were told that over 2,000 I. W. W.'s, all heavily armed, were marching towards Centralia, which resulted in the arrest of every known radical on the Pacific Coast.

At the coroner's inquest, a totally different story was told. One witness, Dr. Frank Bickford, said: "As the parade passed in front of the I. W. W. headquarters some one suggested raiding the hall. I spoke up and said, 'I'll take the lead if somebody will follow.' Others took the lead ahead of me. There were six or eight other fellows. Arthur McElfresh was at my right. The door was shut. Some one broke the lock and the door opened six or eight inches."

The whole incident as seen by several eye-witnesses and published in "New Solidarity" is as follows:

"When the parade marched up the street the workers went out onto the pavement to view the pageant. No one suspected for a moment that a tragedy was imminent.

The head of the parade countermarched about a block above the Roderick Hotel and came back on the opposite side of the street. The rear of the parade was composed of ex-service men marching in formation and with officers in command. They halted opposite the hotel building in which the I. W. W. hall was located. By-standers who were in front of the hotel and had an unobstructed view of the scene declare that all the subsequent movements were made with absolutely military precision. A startling part of the array was that a part of the American Legion marchers carried side arms.

Almost as by a word of command the legioners faced the hall and with the common impulse of trained soldiers, they dashed forward. There was a splintering of glass, the crash of a door being burst open, pistol shots in the narrow entrance and answering shots that sounded as tho coming from the rear of the hall. A man staggered out from the doorway and was led away by a companion. Curses, shots, a pandemonium of cries and running men.

These bystanders declare they saw no armed men except those among the legioners, and heard no shots except those in the entrance to the hall at the moment of the attack and those that answered at the rear of the hall. They think that all the casualties occurred in the hall, except the shooting of Dale Hubbard, which was subsequent and occurred down near the river.

If there had been others firing from the outside they could have seen and heard it, for they were on the pavement and had an unobstructed view. In their opinion, the three or four men who were in the hall when the attack was made must have considered

themselves trapped in the place and, reverting to elemental instincts, made such resistance to invasion as they could. Then, finding there was no immediate attack from the rear of the building, they sought to escape by that route.

One very significant feature of the raid on the I. W. W. hall in Centralia was that every piece of furniture and all the literature and supplies were taken to the street and burned, and that the entire front of the hall was torn out and destroyed. This was very evidently done by those in charge of the raid for the purpose of destroying evidence that would most certainly have incriminated them. Had the front of the hall been left intact it would have been mute but incontrovertible evidence that the attack was made by the mob from the parade.

Later, these bystanders saw Wesley Everetts, *the ex-service man who had returned from France*, being led along the street with a rope around his neck and accompanied by a crowd that called out, "Lynch him! Lynch him!" He had been fearfully beaten up and so severely kicked in the groin that he could scarcely walk.

Everetts replied to the taunts of the mob and said,

"They haven't got the guts to lynch anybody in daylight." That night he was taken out and hanged to the river bridge and his body riddled with bullets."

This raid was the culmination of a series of persecutions practised on the I. W. W. in Centralia. Members have been driven out of town, their halls have been closed down time without number, and still these men have continued their propaganda undaunted and unafraid. Such acts as these only create a greater determination amongst all radicals to continue the fight against a system that applauds this terrorism, these atrocities. For the past three years American capitalism has been attempting to stop the march of progress. Thousands of men and women have been thrown into jail, many were murdered, radical literature has been destroyed by the ton, free speech has been practically abolished, the foreign agitators have been, and are still being deported, yet in the last month of 1919 there is more unrest in the country, more unrest in the whole world, than ever before. Does the radical cause this unrest or is it the conditions under which we are living? Ask yourself that question, fellow-workers.

Steel Strike Commissaries

By MARY HEATON VORSE

THAT this strike is built on the faith and courage of the individual was never shown more than at this moment. It seems incredible, with the desperate drive on against them, with all the forces of society massed against them as never before, that they should hold out at all.

Negro strike breakers are being brought in everywhere and the white terror is mounting daily. You must go to the strike headquarters in the steel towns to understand this. They come here with their courage, with their doubts, with their fears. You can learn even more about them in the commissaries where food is distributed twice a week. I happened to be in Braddock a day before Thanksgiving, while those hardest hit by the strike in the Braddock and Rankin District filed in front of the improvised table of the commissary.

The system by which the commissary is run has been simplified to the last degree. It is checked off by means of cards and requires no bookkeeping on the part of the already over-worked secretaries and organizers. And it was thought of and carried out by Robert McKechnan, Manager of the co-operative of the United Mine Workers, who receives no salary whatever for his work with the steel strike, his service being loaned by the Illinois Wholesale Co-operative. He works tirelessly at buying and shipping food to the steel towns, sending supplies to all of the towns from Pittsburgh, with the exception of the Chicago District.

There is a black-board in Foster's office where a

notice is chalked from time to time: "Wanted: Volunteers for the Bean Mines." So any one who is a friend of the strike does a shift up in the Tri-State Co-operative Warehouse helping to measure and wrap up packages of beans, and to cut and wrap salt meat. It seems to us that all the beans in the world are concentrated there—as though there were no end of beans. Groups of women work here, newspaper men, organizers—everyone who "comes thru"—nor do Union hours prevail for this volunteer service. McKechnan and his helpers work 16 hours a day to help in the strike for eight!

Every Union Helps

When the strikers file through the commissary stores, they come smiling because they realize that this food comes from all the workers of America. Remote lodges and locals write in that they have voted a day's work and appropriated from their treasuries. Bloomington, Illinois, telegraphs "Organized labor is behind you. We will furnish the food." News comes of big mass meetings, and every few days fat checks come from Frank Morrison, through whom all labor contributions go.

These contributions are more than money—they translate themselves into terms of renewed resistance and renewed courage. As the news of them is spread, it breaks through the sense of isolation of the strikers which the lies and silence of the newspapers spread around. Most of the men as they

come in have one of their children with an extra basket with them, as the ration is almost too much for one person to carry away.

The strikers stand patiently waiting their turn—Pole and Slovak, Croatian, Rumanian and Italian. All of them with large families, all of them could have sneaked back to work if they had so chosen, for there is no picket line in Braddock to shame them, nor in other Pennsylvania Steel towns. There is everything to drive them in, but these men would rather eat beans and salt pork for Thanksgiving than turkey bought with scab money.

Often children come with their parents. I asked a little fellow how old he was. "Fifteen," he answered. He looked to be about twelve. But the swarming children in the steel towns are pale and under-sized. "We have six other children in our family, not counting the new baby," he added proudly.

Nobody Scabs

There are enough new babies among the strikers' families, so part of the commissary work in Pittsburgh is a special milk fund for young mothers and babies. In Braddock there were some women in the crowd, and presently a woman with sharp black eyes, like shining buttons, took her basket and began wheedling the organizers for an extra can of tomatoes. In her voice was indescribable mixture of mockery and impudence—a gipsy woman, unmistakably. There is a whole alley full of them in Braddock—they are full of effrontery, of laughter and guile, and they would make off with an extra can while your back was turned. But, there is one thing they don't do: **THEY DON'T SCAB.**

All of their men are doing something cruelly difficult, something which requires the highest courage. They are staying out and seeing negro strike breakers take their jobs. This is an old experience to the men in Monessen, Donora, Braddock, Rankin and Pittsburgh. Smoke has always been made in these towns—smoke, a great deal of scrap and some steel. But, the men know that the production of the mills is only 25 per cent. They know that low production spells victory.

The foreigners don't scab—they stick in the face of everything. The Croatian national societies and Slovak societies have clauses in their charters excluding scabs from sick and death benefits.

I said that negro strike breakers were being brought in. They are not having a too happy time. The life of a scab is very insecure.

In Monessen mills, as in many others, there has been race rioting. The jails and hospitals in Monessen are full and this is the fifth riot of which strike headquarters has had reports this week. Terrible accidents are occurring in the mills. In both Monessen and Donora men have been badly burned, and

cranes have fallen. Ladles of steel have been spilled at these places and others. Every day testimony accumulates concerning this disorganized state of the mills. So Thanksgiving has been a dangerous time for scabs and none of them had a better dinner than the strikers of Donora. A fund was gotten up and a number of turkeys bought and I, personally never ate a better Thanksgiving dinner.

When I got into the Hall the air was electric with suppressed excitement, because Hodge, the local secretary, had been asked by two plain clothes men to go to the State Constabulary Headquarters. And the men were afraid that he had been arrested; however, "State Cops" only made him promise that no "after dinner" (or other) speeches would be made.

If he had been arrested or run out of town he would only have shared the fate of McCadden, Klinckey and Kurowski of Youngstown, Liley of Butler, Conboy and Gillotti of Johnstown. For arresting and terrorizing organizers and secretaries is part of the terrific drive being made throughout the steel districts to get the mills manned. For the trade and financial columns are beginning to acknowledge the pinch of steel shortage. The country at large is beginning to suffer severely for Mr. Gary's "principles" and they are squealing. So the steel companies, having failed in their reign of terror, are now trying more terror.

Patriotism Gone Wild

In Youngstown they have stopped the meetings. The White Terror is being encouraged. "Citizens' Committees," after the manner of Johnstown, opening up in Donora, in Monessen, in Youngstown and in other parts of the country. In Donora, where all assemblies are forbidden the workers (including regular meetings of chartered union locals), the superintendent of the mills makes orations, standing in his automobile opposite the headquarters of the State Constabulary—so indiscriminating is the law in preserving "order."

Some of the efforts made to call the strike off are sinister enough, but some of them are funny, like the newspaper offensive of the other day when the National Committee met in Pittsburgh, while the press sat around like buzzards waiting to pick up the corpse of the strike. For the steel companies had busily started a rumor that the strike was to be called off. The idea of calling it off existed only in the minds of the people who wanted it called off, and that was neither strikers, nor organizers, nor secretaries, nor National Committee.

In answer to a request from the labor papers, Fitzpatrick and Foster both made detailed statements, but the steel companies' press still persists in announcing that the strike is over. But the strikers are so busy striking that they do not care what the papers say.

On "Selling Out"

By ARTHUR SIFFLET.

WANTED.—Labor leader or Trade Union Official, to betray his comrades. Must be plausible and have large following. One prepared to sell out entirely. Wages: superior food and clothes, fine house; highest social connections, security for self and family absolutely guaranteed.

If the offer were thus plainly made who would accept? An occasional Judas perhaps. But most potential renegades, even the weakest, would surely resent such an open affront to their manhood. But, no! The overtures are more subtle; the acception equally so; and once undertaken the victim is bound with invisible chains, whose weight increases daily, bowing him down and down, till like a moral pander, he is ready at a moment's notice for any capitalist vileness.

Now that the workers are massing for battle, the rewards for renegades will be high. Traitors will be numerous and though these will be swept aside in the general advance (and lucky those who die in their beds), perhaps we can minimise treachery by studying the traitor. It is worth it.

How does it begin? Generally with a suddenly developed "broadmindedness." He cannot quite believe in the class war.

He discovers many employers to be quite decent fellows. He grows conciliatory, and begins to rebuke those young men in a hurry. He becomes a convert to evolutionary methods. He appears upon platforms with capitalists, politicians, clergymen, and lawyers. His mind becomes broader—a process hastened by welcomes at big houses, gratifying dinners, genial draughts of wine, and those pretty words that tickle long ears. Thus he replies to the offer.

Then the press takes him in hand. He is described as sane, levelheaded, profound, statesmanlike, talented, experienced, adroit, brilliant, and many other things. It overwhelms the poor ninny. The papers print portraits of him, his purring dame in latest fashions, his amazingly gallant officer son, and his astonishingly beautiful marriageable daughters. The rich bestow upon him praise, cast-off clothing, and advice. His wife and daughters weave for themselves and him an inextricable network of social connections. And the thing is done. He accepts the thirty pieces.

Doubtless he sometimes regrets. In quiet moments the small accusing voice may whisper—traitor! The poverty and suffering of his class may rise and reproach him. As he thinks of Lenin, or Liebknecht, or of the humblest red soldier, he may feel a miserable worm. He may even attempt to retrieve. But it is too late. He is a bondman to capitalism, body and soul.

Any return of manliness reacts unpleasantly up-

on him. He is made to feel his employers' displeasure in their cold glances. He is "cut dead" in society. The women-folk of his own household even reproach him, telling him to be careful what he says, and not to jeopardise their future and his own. His new-found friends become sullen and cool. At times he has to confront angry workers. Even the women at his meetings call him traitor and tell him he has "sold out." His former following desert and denounce him, and as his political stock declines, he is in danger of being abandoned by his cynical employers. A silk hat may cover many a weary restless brain; a warm coat hide many a heavy heart.

Comrades! Can we stop this? I think so. How? First, we must keep ourselves trim—never too big or too important to rub shoulders with our own class. Never too wise to listen to suggestion or advice. Preserving always a deep and active sympathy with our fellows, drawing our inspiration from their sufferings. Secondly, to hold no parley with the enemy, for under no guise can he become our friend. Till classes are abolished, we can draw all friendship from our own class.

As to others we must watch them, study them. And when they exhibit any of the aforementioned symptoms of parleying weakness, wobbling of any kind, we must be at their side encouraging them, strengthening them, keeping them straight, telling them, in Emerson's phrase, "in words as hard as cannon-balls" what we think of treachery, and remind them of the consequences. In other cases, we must waive aside personal feeling, and remove them before much harm is done, and so avoid the disappointment and set-backs of treachery, which begins as often as not, in mere weakness and vanity rather than in deliberate and intentional faithlessness.



LABOR—Your capital can't dig coal without ME.



LABOR—*Your capital can't dig coal without ME,*

My Own Shop

What Happens to the Trackmen

By PETE ———

The Maintenance of Ways and Railroad Shop Laborers' Union, affiliated with the A. F. of L. That's us; We're the foundation of the railroad system, the whole system is built on us. We're the bottom dog. For the past 12 months we've been yapping and snivelling but now we are starting to growl and before very long we'll bite some people. We're the guys that's been getting the bone after everybody else has taken the meat off. We are somewhat detached, as it were. We sent our "heads" to Washington to sniff around for food but they seem to have lost their way back. You see, these "mouth-pieces" have been getting all the food they want at our expense, and they seem to have forgotten there's such a thing as the body. Anyway, I suppose you'll be getting curious by this time so let's come down to facts.

About twelve months ago this organization had a membership of almost 500,000 workers while today this number is reduced to somewhere near 200,000 and still going down.

Twelve months ago, a national agreement was to be signed, we were told, which would bring us a nice, fat raise in wages with back pay from January 1st, 1918, and to this end, fourteen of our Grand Lodge officers were working overtime in Washington, we were also told. These rumors were usually spread around at dues paying time, dues in this union are paid every three months, and on special occasions, when money didn't come in fast enough, letters would be read from the Grand Lodge, saying that the agreement had actually been signed, and the boys would fall for it every time. At other meetings the local officials reported "progress." "At our next meeting we hope to inform you," "In a few days we expect a wire from Washington"—and that sort of stuff.

Smashing the Union

Of course, these tactics on the part of our officials couldn't keep up for ever. There must come a time when these promises develop into something concrete, or else the rank and file get suspicious, and so there came a time when the membership began to ask awkward questions which the officials could not answer and when the men began to talk about striking, the local leaders would get all "het up" and run around like a dog catching fleas. "What shall we tell the members," wrote the local supporter of reaction from his two by four shack in some one-horse town: "Tell them it would jeopardise our position," growled the Grand Lodge officer from

the depths of his plush-lined chair in Washington's best hotel and evidently these Grand Lodge officials believed what they said for they began to take action. In order to prevent the rank and file from taking matters into their own hands, the A. F. of L. leaders began to split up the organization by transferring members into other craft unions. In this way 25,000 men were transferred into the Stationary Firemen's Union, which is a very weak organization, and thousands of other members were placed into unions which would have refused their applications a few months previously. Naturally the members howled and meetings of protest were held from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to the Gulf, but as our Grand Lodge officers raised no objections, they seemed inclined to sanction the transference, the breaking up of one of the strongest of the railroad unions was accomplished successfully.

Get Together Boys!

A large majority of the trackmen only receive 43 cents an hour while some get as low as 32 cents and with this they have to get along, and the living conditions of the men, especially the foreign born are terrible. Old box-cars that are not fit to carry food-stuffs are fixed up as living quarters. No sanitary arrangements, no cooking apparatus. As a rule they are swarming with vermin, the walls and roof are full of cracks which let in the rain and cold. In the winter time the conditions are extremely bad, but so long as the union official gets his more than living wage, he is satisfied.

The men are beginning to see their finish unless they take some drastic step and thousands are already lining up with the One Big Union. If the railroad laborers, if the bottom dog, ever wants to improve his condition it has been clearly proved by the events in the past twelve months, that the A. F. of L. is of no use to him.

Industrial Unionism is the next step. We've got to take it now if we ever want to create an organization that will be of any benefit to us as workers. If at this time we manage to get some sort of a raise in wages or shorter hours, our original demands will have been compromised out of existence. Immediately we receive the increase it will be time to formulate a new wage scale in order that we can keep pace with the high cost of living. And this game will continue until we have a real fighting organization controlled by the workers themselves, with no craft distinctions, but all striving for the one goal, the abolition of exploitation.